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## CONTENTS

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ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT:

- An Appreciative Approach to Tegnér's Poetic Technique . . . . . 1

CARL E. W. L. DAHLSTRÖM:

- Strindberg's 'Naturalistiska Sorgespel' and Zola's Naturalism. II. *Fröken Julie*: Subject Matter and Sources. . . . . 14

AXEL LOUIS ELMQUIST:

- Füllt med*, Meaning 'Many, Much,' and Related Expressions in Swedish . . . . . 37
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# Scandinavian Studies

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## AN APPRECIATIVE APPROACH TO TEGNÉR'S POETIC TECHNIQUE

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT

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ONLY a few years ago (1939) a noted Swedish scholar, Nils Svanberg, published a very learned monograph on the style and form of Tegnér's poetry, entitled *Tegnérstudier: Stildrag i lyriken till 1826*.<sup>1</sup> In this monograph Svanberg has given a most thorough and meticulous analysis of Tegnér's verse form. But because of a purely mechanical approach the author has failed to reveal that subtle element essential to an appreciation of Tegnér's genius, viz., the poet's inspiration. No room has been left for that individual genius which *intuitively* grasps the principles of poetic art, such as harmony, color, contrast, etc., without consciously resorting to established rules or literary conventions. And one wonders, therefore, whether Dr. Svanberg ever really grasped the significance of those lines in Tegnér's poem *Svar på P. D. A. Atterboms inträdestal i svenska akademien* (1840), where he says:

Ej form, ej färg är stängd ur sångens gille,  
en regel smaken har: den heter *snille* . . .

It is Tegnér's *snille* (genius) which I should like to discuss in this paper, and that too, from a purely esthetic point of view. Tegnér was not only a master of poetic technique, as Svanberg has shown him to be, but also an artist with an intuitive sense of beauty, which often transcended the conventional rules of verse form. The following analysis may therefore serve to supplement Svanberg's mechanical approach to Tegnér's poetic art. My

<sup>1</sup> *Nordiska texter och undersökningar* utgivna i Uppsala av Bengt Hesselman, Vol. XIII. Uppsala, 1939.

treatment of the subject is based upon pure appreciation, a subjective interpretation of Tegnér's poetic technique which must necessarily represent a personal evaluation.

According to Tegnér there are two elements necessary for a masterful presentation of poetic thought, viz., "kraft och klarhet." To attain this end Tegnér resorted to various devices, sometimes in accord with the conventional rules of poetic art and sometimes not. One of the most outstanding characteristics resulting from this necessity for "strength and clarity" was Tegnér's tendency to summarize the thought of his poem in the last stanza. This is, of course, a device which many poets utilize, but it is especially marked in Tegnér, particularly in his philosophical-didactic poetry, where a definite thesis is involved. This device serves to strengthen and clarify the poet's thesis and at the same time to round out the picture portrayed in the poem. If we *must* have a technical term for this device, I believe the term 'completeness' would be most appropriate, inasmuch as the final stanza serves to complete the poet's message.

In discussing this device for 'completeness' let us first consider the principle as applied to Tegnér's philosophical-didactic poetry. One of the salient characteristics of Tegnér's philosophical and religious thought is its simplicity. As a sworn enemy of Hegel and the philosophical schools of abstract thought, Tegnér treads his way through the philosophical labyrinth and emerges with an astonishingly simple answer, consonant with his religious and artistic instincts. In fact, Tegnér was in reality no philosopher at all but by nature a poet, and his solutions of philosophical problems rested essentially on the poet's intuition. Two characteristic examples will suffice to illustrate this attitude on the part of the poet and the resultant effect of finality and 'completeness,' when this simple answer is presented in the final stanza of the poem, viz., *Panteismen* (date uncertain) and *Konstnärn* (1806).

In *Panteismen* Tegnér refuses to accept reason as an authoritative guide to religious truth and finally cuts the Gordian knot by appealing to the highest instincts of the soul, a faith in the benign nature of the deity—which is, of course, the poet's answer to the philosopher:

Låt oss gå ner i dalar,  
 der trasten slår i björkens äreport,  
 ros rodnar för sin längtan, bäcken talar  
 om Gud, som lefver, och allt skönt, han gjort!—

This final stanza of the poem serves not only to reveal in clear and beautiful outlines Tegnér's conception of an all-pervading God in nature and in the human soul but it also lends to the picture a finality which, like the artist's last touches to a portrait, serves to round out the features into a lifelike resemblance. The final stanza enables us to see Tegnér's thought emerging, clear and well defined, out of the turgid background of philosophical controversy. He is instinctively true to his own ideal of "kraft och klarhet."

Again, in his poem *Konstnären* Tegnér expresses his distaste for the contemporaneous schools of poetry; poetic art cannot be pigeonholed into conventional categories formulated by the particular tastes of a prevailing literary school. And in the final stanza Tegnér expresses this ideal by emphasizing the eternal verity of inspirational genius as the fundamental guide for all poetic art, without which there can be no true poetry:

Går ej ditt gudaverk fram af sig sjelf ändå,  
 som utur jordens barm de rika källor gå,  
 som under vårens sol de lätta blommor växa?

The last stanza therefore presents a picture which enables us to see at a glance Tegnér's ideal of the literary artist, the reflection of that divine inspiration which overrules all literary conventions. From these two examples it is clear that Tegnér's own poetic genius instinctively sought to give in the concluding stanza a simple, clear, and forceful summary, which served to clarify a confused and uncertain background of controversial elements.

Now let us turn to his elegiac poetry. All his funeral poems contain a message of comfort to the bereaved, for this was the purpose of these poems. But it is usually in the last stanza that this message appears in its clearest and most beautiful form. For instance, in his funeral poem to *Jacob Faxe* (1827) Tegnér in the

final stanza gently relieves the pain of grief through a message of light which follows the darkness:

Dock, när den nattliga syn, den kära, blir ute för alltid,  
detta är tecknet för er; glädjens, ty dager är när!

This final message rings out like a clarion announcing the new birth of the soul.

Again, in his poem *Till en sörjande fader* (1827), Tegnér in the final stanza summarizes with touching simplicity his message of comfort to this bereaved father:

En gång faller han med glädje åter till ditt fadersbröst.—  
Ingen högre lära vet jag, känner ingen bättre tröst.

From these two examples it is clear that the last stanza completes the picture by leaving the reader with a final sense of comfort.

In other types of Tegnér's poetry this device for 'completeness' is frequently apparent. Let us take, for example, his love poem *Till en aflägsen älskarinna* (1804), in which the elegiac tone predominates. The last two lines of the poem:

Välkommen efter mig, Anna!  
Döden löser ej våra band.

express in final and conclusive form the immortal character of the poet's love.

Again, in the poem *Jätten* (ca. 1812), in which Tegnér portrays the Spirit of Evil which has pervaded the Swedish nation, the concluding lines:

Det onda är odödligt,  
liksom det goda.

present in axiomatic form the truth of the poet's thesis. These final words leave upon the reader the indelible impression of an undeniable truth and thus serve to give a sense of finality to the picture of national depravity which Tegnér sought to present in this poem. There is a sort of dramatic denouement in such a final outburst of feeling, and Tegnér frequently resorts to this device to emphasize the final proof of the argument involved. For in-



stance, to cite only one example, in the canto "Afskedet" of his *Frithiofs saga*, in which Ingeborg and Frithiof are engaged in a violent dispute as to whether it is her duty to follow Frithiof into exile, Ingeborg rests her case with the final words "Vi måste skiljas." Coming at the end of an eloquent passage, in which she reveals her finest idealism, this concluding half-line "Vi måste skiljas" lends a sense of finality to her argument and thus serves to complete the picture of Ingeborg's steadfast adherence to her ideals—"Nordens stjärna, hvilken står alltjämt." Without this final statement "Vi måste skiljas" the picture of Ingeborg would have lost a certain element of strength, which it was the poet's purpose to present.

Again, in his poems dedicated to distinguished persons—and Tegnér has given us a whole gallery of the most distinguished personalities in the history of Swedish culture of his era—Tegnér utilizes this device for 'completeness' by presenting in conclusion the salient characteristics of the individual as a final impression. Let us take, for example, his poem dedicated to Bishop J. O. Wallin (1839), the father of Swedish church music and author of the Swedish hymnal. Little by little Tegnér paints a portrait of this venerable bishop, until in the concluding stanza he completes the picture with a magnificent encomium which leaves us with a final, indelible impression of Bishop Wallin, "aloft among the stars, the first voice in the circle of Swedish culture, a poet whom few excelled, a speaker unrivaled":

Och tröttnar stundom någon gång  
den flygande, den svenska sång,  
låt honom då få hvila vingen  
emot din graf och svinga sig  
igen till stjernorna, till dig,  
du första stämman i den vittra ringen,  
du skald som få, du talare som ingen!

Had Tegnér written only these concluding lines, the poem would have been worthy of both Wallin and Tegnér.

One of the most startling conclusions of Tegnér's poems occurs in his *Mjeltsjukan* (1825). After a vitriolic arraignment of God and man, suffused with the most profound pessimism to which

Tegnér ever gave expression, he suddenly concludes his poem with a concession to faith in God and immortality:

och tidens hittebarn, här satt i skolen,  
får kanske se sin fader—bortom solen.

This logical discrepancy may be explained on the ground that Tegnér was more or less a split personality, and consequently he suddenly reverted from a temporary mood of depression to his normal self, of which the concluding lines are an expression; for almost all his poetry otherwise proves without a shadow of a doubt that Tegnér's faith in God and in the divine nature of man was unshakable. The concluding lines of *Mjeltsjukan*, therefore, present his pessimism in the light of a passing mood of depression, thus serving to mitigate the severity of Tegnér's judgment, of which he himself was conscious.

But the classic example of 'completeness' occurs in *Afsked till min lyra* (1840). The opening stanza, in which he bids farewell to his lyre, serves as a prolog to that pathetic moment when death shall pronounce the final judgment:

Farväl min lyra! Ja, nu är det slut.  
Lägg dig och sof, nu ha vi sjungit ut.

Then, in variegated pictures he gradually unfolds the story of his life, until in the final stanza he breathes out with his dying breath the last farewell to his lyre:

Farväl, farväl! Skilsmässan blir ej lång.  
Förvissna, Febi lager, på min panna,  
dö på min tunga, du min sista sång!

Without this final stanza, in which the presence of death is so simply, clearly, and pathetically portrayed, the whole poem would have lost a masterful touch. The pathos of this last "farewell" leaves us with an impression of dramatic vividness which heightens the effect of the whole poem.

I should like now to call attention to Tegnér's artistic skill in introducing his theme in the opening stanza of his poems. Just as the concluding stanza leaves an impression of 'completeness,' so the opening stanza either formulates the topic or so prepares the reader that the unfolding of the theme has all the more powerful

effect. These devices pertain chiefly to his shorter poems and particularly to those in which he has a definite thesis to defend. The method, of course, varies according to the nature of the poem. The opening stanza is important to the exposition of his theme, for the reader must be prepared for the desired effect in the best possible way. In some of the following examples the concluding stanza of the poem has already been discussed under the topic of 'completeness.'

An excellent example of a skillful and artistic introductory stanza occurs in *Mjeltsjukan*. In this poem Tegnér's chief device for effect is *contrast*. Consequently, in the opening stanza he unfolds a glorious vision of health and happiness, with all that wealth of poetic coloring of which Tegnér alone was master. This glorious vision is the first to greet the reader's eye in order that this impression may stand out in direct contrast to the real theme of the poem, viz., the corroding, poisonous spirit of melancholia, which is revealed in the following stanzas.

Compare this type of introduction, appropriate to *Mjeltsjukan*, with the character of the introduction to *Afsked till min lyra*. Here the opening lines:

Farväl min lyra! Ja, nu är det slut.  
Lägg dig och sof, nu ha vi sjungit ut.

furnish the structure upon which the whole poem rests. Here contrast is not involved as in *Mjeltsjukan*, hence the introductory stanza is in harmony with the central theme of the poem.

Again, in his national polemics, *Asatiden* (ca. 1812) and *Jätten* (ca. 1812), the opening stanzas furnish a skillful introduction to the theme of the poems. In *Asatiden* the opening stanza depicts the ancient spirit of the North as asleep; the mighty gods no longer perform the deeds of valor which are the inheritance of the Swedish race:

Du sofver, Heimdal, son af de nio mör,  
och Gulltopp hvilar, och Gjallarhorn rostas och tiger.

This picture not only furnishes the theme of the poem but also affords a powerful contrast to the final stanza, in which Tegnér awakens Heimdal and has him blow his mighty horn to arouse the Swedish people from their cowardly lethargy:

Uppvakna, Heimdal! Blås som till Ragnarok,  
 så himlen remnar och Valhallas härlighet flammor,  
 och dagens dvärgätt, så kraftlös, så öfverklok,  
 må tro på ljungarn, som nalkas med straffande hammar!

In *Jätten*, the opening stanza introduces the Giant in his abode beneath the ground, hidden in the dark caves, which the light of kindness never penetrates—a symbol of the dark Spirit of Evil:

Jag bor i bergets salar,  
 djupt under jorden,  
 dit aldrig Odens öga  
 trängt med sin stråle.

These opening lines describe the essential nature of Evil, which is the theme of the poem and which Tegnér so concretely summarizes in the concluding lines of the poem:

Det onda är odödligt,  
 liksom det goda.

Now let us turn to his philosophical-didactic poetry. A characteristic example occurs in *Konstnärn*. Here Tegnér introduces his theme by addressing the poet as the offspring of a degenerate Age, drinking from the poisonous breasts of its mother:

Du föddes tidens barn. Till lif och känsla väcks  
 du vid dess moderbröst. Fly, fly, det är förgiftadt!

This introductory characterization of the poet as the product of his Age serves as a foil to Tegnér's own ideal of art as universal in character, which immediately follows:

Sök dig ett annat hem, af högre andar stiftadt,  
 i diktens rena luft, i minnets dalar väx!

Again, in *Lifvet* (ca. 1804) the opening lines depict Death in pursuit of Life, driving her from one place of refuge to another:

Se, hur döden ilar fram att kufva  
 hvarje väsende i evig fejd;  
 lifvet, bäfvande, från nejd till nejd  
 flyktar undan som en jagad dufva.

The opening stanza thus serves as a foil to Life's victory, which is the real theme of the poem, so beautifully consummated in the final stanza.

This device is apparent also in his funeral poems. A most beautiful example occurs in *Vid en borgarflickas graf* (1804). Here Tegnér introduces his theme by exhorting the genius of poetry to sing of this simple lovable girl, whose merits have been overshadowed by her lowly station:

Vakna, skaldmö, sjung en enkel sång!  
hon är död, den älskansvärda, ömma.  
Må den dygd, som hyddans skuggor gömma,  
lefva ock i ryktet någon gång!

The opening stanza thus gives in outline the portrait of this simple burgher maid, whose gentle features Tegnér gradually unfolds in the following stanzas.

Now let us turn to his songs to nature. An outstanding example occurs in his *Majsång* (1812). Here Tegnér first presents a picture of the young May sun, as it melts the ice-caps from the furrowed brow of the mountains and smiles down upon dale and ravine:

Se, öfver dal och klyfta  
den unga majsol ler.  
Sin ishjälm bergen lyfta  
från ärrig panna ner.

This idyllic picture of a peaceful May day stands out in vivid contrast to the description of the stormy days of the Napoleonic wars, which is the central theme of the poem:

Med våren flyga morden  
som lösta falkar ut,  
och Södern famnar Norden  
i envige till slut.

Finally, a classic example of this device occurs in his poem dedicated to Bishop Wallin. Here Tegnér introduces this important personality by first presenting a picture of the Swedish Lutheran Church, built upon the rock of faith but without that expression of faith through music which Bishop Wallin was to furnish:

Den svenska kyrkan, Vasas kyrka, hvilat  
 uppå ett hälleberg sin altarrund;  
 hon darrar ej vid dagens ilar,  
 ty hon står fast som jordens grund.  
 Men hvad den borde sången der ej sade,  
 och sömnig kom han ifrån berg och dal . . .

These opening lines prepare the way for the entrance of the youthful Wallin:

Då kommer från parnassens branter  
 en yngling, en af ljusets anförvandter,  
 med lagern i sitt mörka hår . . .

Thus Tegnér introduces the father of Swedish church music by first presenting him in a picture with which he was inseparably connected, and then proceeds to round out that picture part by part into one organic whole.

From the foregoing analysis of Tegnér's poetic technique it is clear that he possessed a fine sense of form and a remarkable skill in emotional appeal; both the introductory and the final stanza of his poems reveal a technical skill which enhances the clarity and force of the poet's message.

Finally, I should like to discuss a few minor structural devices in Tegnér's verse which serve to enhance its beauty and effect. One of these devices is his tendency to omit connective particles in a series of clauses where one act follows another in rapid succession. This asyndetical structure serves to heighten the effect and is most frequently employed when the poet is describing the various phases of nature which follow closely upon one another. The most outstanding example of this asyndetical structure occurs in the opening lines of the canto "Frithiofs frestelse" of his *Frithiofs saga*, in which Tegnér describes the approach of spring:

Våren kommer: fogeln qvitrar, skogen löfvas, solen ler,  
 och de lösta floder dansa sjungande mot hafvet ner.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the corresponding passage in the ON *Frithjófssaga* (chap. XI, sect. 22): "... ok, er várar, tekr veðráttu at batna ok viðr at blómgaz, en grös at gróa, ok skip mega skrifa landa á meðal." The ON original enhances the poetic effect of approaching spring through alliteration; Tegnér through asyndeton.

The whole first line is without connective particles, as one act of nature follows upon the other in rapid succession; whereas the second line, since it represents the final (single) act, is supplied with the connective *och*.

This asyndetical device is employed throughout his poem *Fogelleken* (date uncertain). Here the asyndeton produces an effect corresponding to the rapid movements of the birds; one act follows another in rapid succession. Compare, for instance, the following passage:

Hör, hur tonen bytes om  
småningom,  
sjunker neder,  
veknar, beder  
och i längtans suckar inom kort  
smälter bort.

The asyndetical structure of the first four lines lends an onomatopoeical effect, while the last two lines, introduced by the connective, complete the description of the birds' song.

Another excellent example of this device occurs in his poem *Till min hembygd* (1804). Here he is describing a beautiful winter night in Värmland. The moon is glittering upon the white snow; suddenly a violent storm breaks out, and at the advent of this storm Tegnér omits connectives in the description of the various acts of nature which follow one another in rapid succession:

Hur skön jag månen såg i vinternatten tåga!  
Hans strålar slumrade bland drifvorns bädd.— Med hast  
kom nordan. Klippan skalf, sjön soptes, stammen brast,  
och norrsken fräste ner från himmeln i låga . . .

Note that the whole last line with connective represents only one act; whereas the preceding line without connectives represents several acts, just as in the passage quoted from "Frithiofs frestelse."

Sometimes this asyndetical structure serves to contrast one act with another, where there is involved an abrupt transition from one thought to another. For instance, in his poem *Den vise* (1804), where Tegnér is urging the philosopher to pursue his way undaunted by any obstacle:

. . . Du går  
 obekymrad, om för dina spår  
 öppnas Eden eller remnar jorden;  
 klippan bommar till din väg. Välan!  
 ej din pligt kan brytas,— klippan kan.

the phrase "klippan kan" without connective is in abrupt contrast with the preceding phrase "ej din pligt kan brytas." The collision between the two ideas is rendered more violent by the omission of the connective.

So likewise, in his poem to *E. Rosenblad* (1806), where Tegnér contrasts the silence of the grave with the voice of the living, the connective particle is omitted:

Ack! när solen utur böljan stiger,  
 när hon rinner uti böljan ner,  
 ropar du hans namn. Men grafven tiger,  
 eko svarar dig—och ingen mer.

"Grafven tiger" and "eko svarar" are thus placed in juxtaposition, heightening the contrast between the two, so that the effect borders on the onomatopoeical. Indeed, in the canto "Afskedet" of his *Frithiofs saga* the onomatopoeical effect of the asyndeton is quite apparent. Here Ingeborg compares herself to the pale water lily which falls and rises with the waves:

Den bleka vattenliljan liknar hon:  
 Med vågen stiger hon, med vågen faller . . .

The words "stiger hon" occur before the caesura in the middle of the line, where the voice reaches its highest pitch; whereas the verb "faller" comes at the end of the line, where the voice is at its lowest pitch, so that the rise and fall of voice correspond exactly to the rise and fall of the water lily. The omission of the connective facilitates the fall in pitch of the voice and at the same time serves to contrast the two acts more vividly. Then follows the description of the boat's keel, which passes over the water lily, tearing the tender stem of this helpless flower:

Och seglarns köl går öfver henne fram  
 och märker icke, att han skär dess stängel.



These two lines are supplied with a connective since they represent a unified picture in which there is no contrast involved as in the falling and rising of the water lily. These two lines serve to complete the picture of this metaphor of Ingeborg's helplessness under the relentless hand of duty, just as in the quotation from "Frithiofs frestelse" the second line with connective ("och de lösta floder dansa sjungande mot hafvet ner") completes the picture of spring with its rushing torrents of rain. In this arrangement of lines supplied with connectives directly following the asyndetical lines there is a certain resemblance to the OGmc "Schwellvers," which in contrast to the regular meter expands the picture by overflowing its contents.

In conclusion we may ask: Why point out these phases of Tegnér's poetic technique, which any true poet would employ? My answer is: because Tegnér *was* a true poet. However faulty this interpretation of Tegnér's verse may have been, it, nevertheless, conclusively shows that appreciation can arrive at essentially the same conclusions as does a strictly scientific investigation, such as that represented by Dr. Svanberg's impeccable knowledge of metrical structure. But in evaluating a poet's contribution to *art*, appreciation is in the last analysis the only true guide, for it furnishes something which a mechanical analysis can never give. Appreciation, guided by scholarly instincts, serves to reveal the beauty of the poet's *inner* life, the expression of his finest instincts, thus unfolding at least in part that mysterious and intangible quality of the spirit which we call *genius*. When we read, for instance, Tegnér's masterful epilog to his life, *Afsked till min lyra*, and sense the pathos of those last moments which reveal the consummation of "the heavenly flame," we wonder whether a scientific analysis of metrical structure with all its mechanical preciseness of rules and categories, proving the poem to be absolutely perfect in form, could ever have added one cubit to the stature of the poet.

STRINDBERG'S 'NATURALISTISKA SORGESPEL'  
AND ZOLA'S NATURALISM

II. 'FRÖKEN JULIE': SUBJECT MATTER  
AND SOURCES

CARL E. W. L. DAHLSTRÖM  
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THE general subject of the drama *Fröken Julie* is concerned with the sex relations of man and woman, with the consequence that our attention is centered at the outset on biological phenomena. Further, it embraces man and woman in society; hence the sex relations are also qualified by social phenomena. More particularly, the man is named Jean; the woman, Julie. The latter is a member of the upper social stratum, whereas the former is a servant, employed by Julie's father.

It is customary to speak about the subject as a seduction; yet if one reads the play a number of times, he begins to have doubts about seduction as the general subject of *Fröken Julie*. Indeed, it is difficult to determine which one is actually the seducer and which the seduced. Repeatedly Julie makes bold advances to Jean, and for a time he seems to resist her with all the power of a combined Joseph-Hippolytus-Galahad. After the consummation of sex relations, however, Jean 'admits' that he played the part of the seducer. At the same time, we must bear in mind that Strindberg has introduced so much evidence against Julie that we are compelled to evaluate Jean's statement as a masculine boast. For the purpose of this analysis it may be well to keep in mind that the seduction may be referred to as mutual, with Julie provocative to the point of her own undoing and Jean resisting but not unwilling.

On the surface, at least, this subject seems to fulfil Zola's requirements. In fact, Martin Lamm subscribes to such an opinion with these words:

För Fröken Julie har Strindberg i ämnesvalet fullkomligt följt Zolas intentioner och, som han säger i förordet, tagit motivet ur livet, "sådant jag hörde det omtalas för ett antal år sedan, då händelsen gjorde ett starkt intryck på mig."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Strindbergs dramer* (Stockholm, 1924), Vol. I, p. 306.

There is seemingly an index to Zola's naturalism in Lamm's statement that Strindberg took the subject from life. We note, however, that there is an important qualification in this statement, one that is made by Strindberg. It is best, therefore, not to accept Lamm's judgment without a re-examination of Strindberg's own words. Note what the dramatist himself says:

I föreliggande dram har jag sökt icke att göra något nytt—ty det kan man inte—utan endast att modernisera formen efter de fordringar jag tänkt mig tidens nya människor skulle ställa på denna konst. Och till den ändan har jag valt eller låtit mig gripas av ett motiv, som kan sägas ligga utanför dagens partistrider, emedan problemet om socialt stigande eller fallande, om högre eller lägre, bättre eller sämre, man eller kvinna, är, har varit och skall bli av bestående intresse. När jag tog detta motiv ur livet, sådant jag hörde det omtalas för ett antal år sedan, då händelsen gjorde ett starkt intryck på mig, fann jag det lämpa sig för sorgspelet, ty ännu gör det ett sorgligt intryck att se en lyckligt lottad individ gå under, mycket mer en släkt dö ut.<sup>2</sup>

According to this statement the subject of *Fröken Julie* is something that has been told to Strindberg. In fact, from this statement alone we should have to conclude that the subject was a matter of hearsay to Strindberg. Naturally we must ask a few pertinent questions. Did Strindberg rely wholly on hearsay; that is, is this just gossip he has heard at some time or other? Did he make any investigations in order to determine how much fact and how much fiction were in the story told him? Did he make any notations on hearing the story, or did he have to trust to memory in the writing of *Fröken Julie*, several years after he had heard the story? In other words, is there any sign whatsoever of Strindberg's use of scientific control in the treatment of subject matter?

The immediate answers to these questions bring us little satisfaction, so far as the naturalistic qualities of the subject matter of *Fröken Julie* are concerned. In truth, apart from Strindberg's own statement, there seems to be no proof that he had ever heard such a story; and there is certainly no indication that Strindberg made any investigation for the purpose of establishing the fact that his subject was taken from life. If the daughter

<sup>2</sup> Strindberg's *Samlade skrifter*, Vol. XXIII, p. 100. (Note that hereinafter the *Samlade skrifter* will be referred to solely by Roman numerals indicating volume number.)

of a count, some years prior to 1888 (the date of *Fröken Julie*), had actually been the victim of the experiences related in Strindberg's drama, would there not have been some documentary evidence in a country like Sweden? Again, if Strindberg had been told the sad story of the count's daughter, other people also would have heard it; and some place or other, in this one's letters or in that one's comments on his relations with Strindberg, we should expect to find a statement or at least a hint regarding the source of *Fröken Julie*. The burden of proof rests obviously on those who choose to accept Strindberg's statement that he took the subject from life.

It may be said, of course, that such things have happened in life. Indeed, Archibald Henderson says, "Miss Julia is no stranger to America, often piqued to forbidden curiosity by the spectacle of the woman of society eloping with her chauffeur."<sup>3</sup> Yet, the American social scene of the last quarter of the nineteenth century was one thing; the Swedish, another. Furthermore, naturalism is not a matter of mere plausibility, not just verisimilitude; the subject matter in Zola's naturalism reminds us of life for the very good reason that it has been taken directly from life.<sup>4</sup>

There are certain evidences that make us question Strindberg's statement that the subject of *Fröken Julie* was derived from an actual occurrence that someone related to him. Or, at least, we are led to raise questions about how much or how little of the story Strindberg used. For example, there is evidence that modifications were made while the drama was being written.

Av ett med stycket samtidigt brev till Heidenstam får man veta, att det "handlar om huru fröken . . . förför stalldrängen. Grandiöst!" Den egentliga förändringen tyckes sålunda vara, att stalldrängen förvandlats till betjänt och att Strindberg låtit sin hjältinna begå självmord.<sup>5</sup>

Changes of this type make us wonder how free Strindberg felt in the matter of manipulating materials. He apparently recog-

<sup>3</sup> *European Dramatists* (New York, 1926), p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> This distinction is of the greatest importance. Zola was aiming at the presentation of truth in literary form, and the truth had to be established by genuine data.

<sup>5</sup> Lamm, *Strindbergs dramer*, Vol. I, p. 306. Cf. also Lamm, *August Strindberg*, Vol. I, p. 346 (footnote).

nized that it might seem too farfetched to have Julie seduce the stableman; so he elevated this figure to the position of valet. If one has studied Zola's essays and letters, however, he cannot escape the conviction that, had Zola found an instance of an upperclass woman seducing a stableman, he would have used the latter without alteration. Moreover, if the woman did not commit suicide, Zola would not have so disposed of her in a work of literature.

The change whereby Julie's suicide is introduced by the dramatist may be regarded as no small alteration in a story purportedly taken out of real life. Lamm speaks of the closing scene as follows: "Slutscenen är kanske det yppersta i dramat med sin för den senare Strindberg så typiska blandning av naturalism och fantastik. Den har emellertid först tillkommit efter upprepade omarbetningar."<sup>6</sup> The "upprepade omarbetningar" suggest that Strindberg handled his materials with the greatest of freedom. If the story of actual life did not satisfy him in all details, he apparently made alterations to suit his own purposes.

Again, we know that *Fröken Julie* has some relation to Strindberg's own life.<sup>7</sup> Supposedly Julie, the daughter of a count, stands for Siri von Essen,<sup>8</sup> a baroness by marriage; and Jean is Strindberg himself, "tjänstekvinnans son." But this is intimately related to a literary source of *Fröken Julie* and will be shortly discussed in this paper. At the same time, we must bear in mind that Zola's naturalism calls for objectivity; consequently autobiography is ruled out. Even if *Fröken Julie* has been taken from Strindberg's own life, the subject is not satisfactory in terms of Zola's naturalism.

And now we must ask further questions. How much, if any,

<sup>6</sup> *August Strindberg*, Del I, "Före infernokrisen" (Stockholm, 1940), p. 357. This statement reminds us of the qualification of Strindberg's works presented by Julius Bab in his "Die Lebenden," in *Das deutsche Drama*, edited by R. F. Arnold (München, 1925), pp. 658-659. In Zola's naturalism, fantasy has no place.

<sup>7</sup> Lamm, *Strindbergs dramer*, Vol. I, pp. 243, 312; A. Jolivet, *Le théâtre de Strindberg* (Paris, 1931), pp. 113-122.

<sup>8</sup> Sigrid Sofia Mathilda Elisabeth von Essen was the only child of Captain Karl Reinhold von Essen and Elisabeth Charlotta In de Betou. Siri was first married to Baron K. G. Wrangel, a captain in the Svea Lifeguards. See Nils Erdmann, *August Strindberg* (German translation, Leipzig, 1924), p. 222.

of the subject of *Fröken Julie* was actually derived from a report of an occurrence in life? How many changes did Strindberg make? By the time that he had finished the drama, was the subject still under scientific control, or was it like the subjects of imaginative kinds of literature, insusceptible of scientific control? The answers certainly are not given in Lamm's statement, "Det är alltså en sensationshistoria av samma art, som dem vi ofta finna i tidningarnas notisspalter."<sup>9</sup> Zola's naturalism is not necessarily sensational, nor is it a matter of mere similarity to occurrences in life. In fact, a literary work that is wholly a product of the imagination may still be like a sensational item in a newspaper.

We become more and more dubious about the naturalistic qualities of *Fröken Julie* as regards subject matter. There seems to be no evidence of such value that it can support Strindberg's statement anent source. As we turn now to literary sources, we shall find further cause to doubt.

#### *Literary Sources*

If we cannot find evidence of scientific control of subject matter—that which can be checked and thus established objectively—we can find literary source material. Lamm declares that the female figure Helène, in the short story *Mot betalning*, is a first sketch of Julie.<sup>10</sup> Both Lamm and Jolivet point to Strindberg's novel *En dâres försvarstal* as an obvious source of *Fröken Julie*.<sup>11</sup> Because of the many points of similarity between these two works, it is essential that we take the time to make a detailed study of *En dâres försvarstal*, especially as regards items of similarity with *Fröken Julie*. We shall then be in a position to offer a better established opinion regarding the subject matter of this drama and its relations to Zola's naturalism.

*En dâres försvarstal*, originally written in French under the title of *Le plaidoyer d'un fou* between September 1887 and March 1888, is Strindberg's novel purportedly setting forth certain phases of the courtship of his first wife and his life with her from marriage till separation. In modern terms, the book might be viewed as an all too candid portrayal of the courtship and mar-

<sup>9</sup> *Strindbergs dramer*, Vol. I, p. 306.

<sup>10</sup> *Strindbergs dramer*, Vol. I, p. 312; *August Strindberg*, Vol. I, p. 253.

<sup>11</sup> *Strindbergs dramer*, Vol. I, p. 312; *Le théâtre de Strindberg*, pp. 113-122.

ried life of a certain man and a certain woman. It is a moot question, however, how accurately Strindberg has presented the facts of the domestic scene. Lamm says, "Att få full klarhet om dessa är ytterst svårt, då de till vännerna skrivna breven ge en helt annan bild av förhållandena än den ursinniga skildringen i *En dåres försvarstal*. . . ."<sup>12</sup> We know that Strindberg had the greatest difficulty in distinguishing clearly between fact and fiction, with the consequence that he could give only a distorted version of his own experiences.<sup>13</sup> We shall probably do well to consider seriously the following statement by Jolivet: "*Mais le Plaidoyer étant à bien prendre un roman, c'est plutôt du côté de la littérature d'imagination qu'il convient de chercher.*"<sup>14</sup> We shall proceed now with the comparison of *En dåres försvarstal* and *Fröken Julie*.

#### *Subject Matter*

Part One of *En dåres försvarstal*, pp. 31-206, covers approximately the same material that we find in the drama *Fröken Julie*. The difference in the amount of detail may largely be ascribed to the difference between a novel and a drama. We should add to this the fact that *Fröken Julie* is a drama in very concentrated form—it was written for a performance to last no more than an hour and a half. Thus, in the novel, we witness the first meeting of Axel and Maria. In the drama, on the other hand, Jean has been reared in the neighborhood of the estate and has served the count for so long a time that acquaintance with Julie must be taken for granted. Again, the courtship in *En dåres försvarstal* is drawn out through weeks and months. In *Fröken Julie* there is really no courtship at all; there is rather a wild, ruttish move toward consummation of sex relations. It is a dramatic substitution for the courtship presented in detail in the novel.

Axel and Maria, as well as Julie and Jean, are constantly on dangerous ground in their relations. The inevitable happens

<sup>12</sup> *Strindbergs dramer*, Vol. I, p. 243; cf. also his *August Strindberg*, Vol. I, pp. 313-314.

<sup>13</sup> Jolivet, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 156. Cf. Axel Lundegård, *Några Strindbergsminnen knutna till en handfull brev* (Stockholm, 1920), p. 66. Observe also the opening paragraph in Lamm's last book: *August Strindberg*, Vol. I, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Jolivet, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

to both pairs. Then we have Axel admitting that he ravished Maria<sup>15</sup> and Jean not unwilling to 'admit' conquering Julie. In other words, the subject matter of both works is a kind of seduction. Both, in fact, employ the same kind, that in which it is difficult to determine who seduces whom. Furthermore, the social aspects of this seduction are also similar, though not identical. Both women are in the upper class; both men, in the lower.

*En dâres försvarstal* was completed in March 1888; *Fröken Julie*, by August 10, 1888. It is thus easy to comprehend that Strindberg might have been exploiting the same subject for the writing of both works. Again, the treatment of the subject in the novel doubtless suggested employment in a drama.

#### *Dramatis Personae*

There is so much material under this heading that I shall limit myself to comparisons of the principals: Maria and Julie, Axel and Jean.

*Maria and Julie.* It is rather significant that both women are of the same age, Maria being about twenty-five years old at the time when she meets Axel, and Julie being exactly twenty-five.<sup>16</sup> Both speak French.<sup>17</sup> They are each the only offspring<sup>18</sup> in families where the mother had a distaste for marriage.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, the girls themselves also have a distaste for matrimony.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, Maria's attitude toward the male is very much like Julie's. Maria wants to be worshipped by the man,<sup>21</sup> and Julie desires to dominate the male<sup>22</sup> and make him her slave.<sup>23</sup> Each is the product of a domestic environment that is unfavorable to normal growth,<sup>24</sup> and each is not fully a woman, being described as a

<sup>15</sup> Axel adds the qualifying statement "om det nu kan kallas att våldta. . . ." Vol. XXVI, p. 183.

<sup>16</sup> XXVI, p. 43; XXIII, pp. 115, 134.

<sup>17</sup> XXVI, p. 234; XXIII, p. 126.

<sup>18</sup> XXVI, p. 149; XXIII, pp. 157-159.

<sup>19</sup> XXVI, pp. 95, 203; XXIII, p. 157.

<sup>20</sup> XXVI, pp. 109, 136-137, 273, 376; XXIII, pp. 159-160.

<sup>21</sup> XXVI, pp. 141, 191-193.

<sup>22</sup> XXIII, p. 118.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>24</sup> XXVI, pp. 78, 95, 203, 234, 314, 364; XXIII, pp. 102, 157-159.



half-woman or man-woman.<sup>25</sup> In fact, Maria and Julie are said to be the offspring of degenerate stocks.<sup>26</sup>

Maria is much devoted to her dog.<sup>27</sup> Julie had been devoted to her dog, Diana, but the animal had finally become "untrue" to her.<sup>28</sup> Then Julie gave her affection to a finch.<sup>29</sup>

We know much about the clothes that Maria wears, under as well as outer garments, but we are given very little information about Julie's. Again, we are provided with details about the physical proportions of Maria, the color of her hair, eyes, skin. Her tiny feet are mentioned repeatedly. We come to see her as a woman who at times appears to be remarkably beautiful, and at times surprisingly ugly. With regard to Julie, we know little except for Jean's enthusiastic remarks about her stateliness. "Men ståtlig är hon! Praktfull! Ah! Såna axlar! och —etcetera!" But the cook Kristin seems contemptuous of the "etcetera."<sup>30</sup>

I have said that Axel repeatedly calls attention to Maria's tiny feet.<sup>31</sup> Not only does Maria have small feet; they are the smallest in Sweden.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, she wears the smallest shoes in the world.<sup>33</sup> So intrigued is Axel by these feet that he declares he could fall on his knees and kiss them.<sup>34</sup> Later on, he actually does kiss Maria's shoes until he is "smutsig om läpparna."<sup>35</sup> In *Fröken Julie* there is but one exploitation of the lady's feet, with no reference at all to dimensions. It is, nevertheless, a direct reminder of *En dñres försvarstal* and is an indication of Strindberg's manipulation of materials.

Fröken. Bravo!—Nu skall ni kyssa min sko också, så är det riktigt träffat. Jean (tvekande, men därpå djärvt fattande hennes fot, som han kysser lätt).

Fröken. Utmärkt! Ni skulle ha blivit aktör.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>25</sup> XXVI, pp. 341, 355; XXIII, pp. 104–105, 184.

<sup>26</sup> XXVI, p. 244; XXIII, pp. 102, 104–105, 157–159.

<sup>27</sup> XXVI, p. 257.

<sup>28</sup> XXIII, pp. 120, 173.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 173–176.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 120–121.

<sup>31</sup> XXVI, pp. 103, 122, 142, 154, 169, 171, 174, 213, 240, 305, 371.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174.

<sup>36</sup> XXIII, p. 129.

With regard to psychological make-up, Maria and Julie are both afflicted with "galna idéer" and are often described as "galen" or "tokig."<sup>37</sup> Both show signs of hysteria and occasionally break out in tears or shrieks.<sup>38</sup> These women are also lacking in self-control and hence respond readily to suggestion.<sup>39</sup>

Maria and Julie are cast from the same master mould when it comes to making advances toward the men. So persistent are they in leading the men on that they are finally ravished.

It is Maria who sets out to make Axel's acquaintance.<sup>40</sup> The first time she is alone with Axel, she looks at him boldly and possessively and compliments him on his clothes.<sup>41</sup> She asks improper questions.<sup>42</sup> When Axel is about to leave Sweden for France, Maria puts her arm around his neck and kisses him in the presence of her husband.<sup>43</sup> On another occasion, she hardly restrains herself from kissing him in the presence of her husband and others.<sup>44</sup> At first she playfully says "du" to him,<sup>45</sup> but later her usage is a matter of boldness.<sup>46</sup> Again, her husband suggests that Axel room with them in their apartment, and Maria is quite angry when Axel refuses. It is significant that the room is already prepared for Axel's occupancy when the offer is made.<sup>47</sup> Maria is exhibitionistic, revealing not only a white stocking but even a gartered calf.<sup>48</sup> After Axel has written a letter warning her about the abuse of friendship, she sets out to meet him, as though by chance, on the street, a shocking performance on the part of a decent woman.<sup>49</sup> Axel, after a few words, admonishes her and then turns his back on her. Later, by agency of her husband, Maria sends for Axel. When he arrives, she goes to

<sup>37</sup> XXVI, pp. 72, 105, 111, 137, 155, 201; XXIII, pp. 117 (twice), 124, 164.

<sup>38</sup> XXVI, pp. 156, 167, 180, 191, 260-261, 278, 284, 286-287, 368; XXIII, pp. 149, 174-175.

<sup>39</sup> XXVI, pp. 152, 167, 175; XXIII, pp. 166, 175, 177-179, 186.

<sup>40</sup> XXVI, pp. 42-43. <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 156-157. <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128. <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167. <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130. <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154. We must remember that this is Stockholm around 1875, that the figures of this scene are a young woman who is married to a baron, a captain in the Royal Lifeguards, and a young man who is serving at the Royal Library by appointment of the king.

meet him, presses his hands to her breast, and greets him warmly. " 'Hon blir tokig!' skämtar baronen och lösgör mig ur omfamningen."<sup>60</sup> She forces from him an implied declaration of love and indicates that she also loves Axel.<sup>61</sup> A married woman, protesting at various times that her relations with Axel are those of a friend, or of brother and sister, Maria writes love letters to him and finally hands him some of them.<sup>62</sup> She passionately presses him to her bosom and kisses him.<sup>63</sup> Unattended and uninvited, she visits Axel alone in his bachelor quarters. She drinks with him, takes his head in her hands and kisses him, and she caresses his head.<sup>64</sup> When he tries to break away, Maria always summons him back.<sup>65</sup> She continues to visit him in his room until Axel, fearful lest his masculinity be called in question, ravishes her.<sup>66</sup>

It is Julie too who first approaches Jean, and she did it in a rather shameless fashion.<sup>67</sup> Jean comes into the kitchen and gives the following description to Kristin, the cook:

Jag följde greven till station, och när jag kom tillbaka förbi logen, gick jag in och dansade, och så får jag se fröken anföra dansen med skogsvaktarn. Men när hon blir mig varse, rusar hon direkt på och bjuder opp mig till damernas vals. Och sen har hon valsat så—att jag aldrig varit med om dylikt. Hon är galen!<sup>68</sup>

Shortly afterwards, as though in verification of Jean's description, Julie enters the kitchen and asks her father's valet to dance with her.<sup>69</sup> Inasmuch as Jean is standoffish and maintains his position as servant, he simply responds by being obedient to the mistress of the household. But Julie is not satisfied with this attitude. She tells Jean that ranks are put aside for the holiday, "... så, bjud mig armen nul. . . ."<sup>70</sup> When Jean has finished the dance, he returns to Kristin in the kitchen. Julie pursues him. She demands that he put off his livery and put on dress clothes, a mere matter of changing his coat.<sup>71</sup> She compliments

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 156-157.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 170.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 177-178.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 177-178.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 177-178.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 161-165.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 173-175.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 181, 183.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 125.

<sup>67</sup> We must remember, of course, that the communications come to us from the men, from Axel and Jean, both interested parties.

him on his clothes, when he appears in frock coat and "melon-hatt."<sup>62</sup> Julie invites the servant to sit down and drink with her.<sup>63</sup> She commands him to drink her "skål."<sup>64</sup> Then she tells him to kiss her shoe.<sup>64</sup> Even in the face of Jean's warnings, she asks him to accompany her outside to pick flowers.<sup>65</sup> She eyes him boldly.<sup>66</sup> Again, she invites him to accompany her outside, to the park.<sup>67</sup> In the doorway, Jean gets a mote in one eye, and Julie is as solicitous of him as though he were her fiancé. She makes him sit down, holds back his head, and works on the eye with a corner of her handkerchief.<sup>68</sup> She apparently can't resist putting her hands on him, for, before she has removed the mote, she stops in her work. She feels of his arm and speaks admiringly of it.<sup>69</sup> Then she asks him to kiss her hand and thank her.<sup>69</sup> Although Jean warns her about playing with fire, Julie continues to act in a flirtatious manner.<sup>70</sup> In fact, she taunts him with being a Joseph.<sup>71</sup> Furthermore, she converses with him intimately about their dreams and Jean's childhood.<sup>72</sup>

Julie wants to go outside in the gloaming of Midsummer's Night. She requests Jean to take her out rowing so that she can see the sunrise.<sup>73</sup> Finally, on the basis of extremely specious reasoning on her part as well as Jean's, Julie goes with the servant into his room.<sup>74</sup> Even after the so-called seduction, after Julie and Jean have quarreled violently, it is still possible for Julie to say that what has happened may happen again.<sup>75</sup> Shortly thereafter, despite the trouble she is in and the confusion about what to do, Julie asks Jean to go with her to her room.<sup>76</sup>

Maria and Julie are much alike. Strindberg has taken the greatest pains not simply to fasten an appearance of guilt on the two women but to bury them under an avalanche of evidence. They are revealed as emotionally upset females who are

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 133-134.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 134-135.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 132-133, 136-139.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 143-144.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.

playing with men in a very dangerous way. While there is plenty of time for Maria to lure Axel, there is a remarkably short period allotted to Julie. By actual count Julie makes advances to Jean a score of times before the ravishment takes place. Inasmuch as the drama supposedly takes but an hour and a half for the showing, it is clear that the luring had to be concentrated within the first half-hour of the spectacle. Thus, this aspect of *Fröken Julie* is a decided compression of the comparable aspect of *En dâres försvarstal*.

As we have already observed, Julie and Maria are cast from the same master mould. The differences may be ascribed, first, to the individual requirements of the novel on the one hand, and of the drama on the other, and, secondly, to Strindberg's attempts to camouflage what he considered autobiographical material.

*Axel and Jean.* The two principal males are not quite so much alike as the females, but Jean's derivation from Axel is nevertheless patent. As both women are from the upper class, so both men are from the lower class. Axel is a 'petitbourgeois'.<sup>77</sup> Jean is a count's serving man.<sup>78</sup> Yet both men regard themselves as the nobility of the future.<sup>79</sup> Indeed, the women actually call them aristocrats.<sup>80</sup> Axel, of course, is a "lärd man";<sup>81</sup> yet Jean, with little schooling, has learned a great deal through the reading of novels and through attending theatres.<sup>82</sup> Both apparently have some command of the French language.<sup>83</sup> We are thus not surprised to find both alluding to the same literary work.

Axel. Jag mindes från Tusen och en natt, att ynglingar kunde bli sjuka av olycklig kärlek och att blott den älskades ägande kunde bota dem.<sup>84</sup>

Jean. . . . En gång har jag varit sjuk av att jag icke kunde få den jag ville ha: sjuk, ser ni, som prinsarna i Tusen och en natt! som inte kunde äta eller dricka av bara kärlek!<sup>85</sup>

<sup>77</sup> XXVI, pp. 48, 143, 171.

<sup>78</sup> XXIII, pp. 115, 136.

<sup>79</sup> XXVI, pp. 170, 255; XXIII, pp. 106, 131-132, 154-155.

<sup>80</sup> XXVI, pp. 270-271, 326; XXIII, p. 131.

<sup>81</sup> XXVI, p. 42. <sup>82</sup> XXIII, pp. 139-140.

<sup>83</sup> XXVI, p. 115; XXIII, p. 126.

<sup>84</sup> XXVI, p. 121. <sup>85</sup> XXIII, p. 136.

Like Strindberg himself, both men hate dogs. Jean refers to Diana as "hundrackan,"<sup>88</sup> and Axel is tormented by the necessity of occupying the same house with Maria's dog.<sup>87</sup>

Axel and Jean are of pleasing appearance and wear their clothes sufficiently well to attract favorable comments from the women.<sup>88</sup> As regards personal habits, both men drink and smoke. We can understand why Axel, a librarian and writer, might be smoking cigars,<sup>89</sup> but it seems rather unusual that the valet should have enough money for cigars.<sup>90</sup>

Despite the fact that the men are by no means strangers to erotic adventures,<sup>91</sup> they are referred to as possible Josephs. Axel, early in his acquaintance with Maria, refers to himself as a Joseph;<sup>92</sup> but after Maria has made many advances toward him, he decides to seduce her. He then disclaims being a Joseph, despite his principles in matters of honor.<sup>93</sup> Julie fleetingly suggests that Jean is a Joseph rather than a Don Juan.<sup>94</sup> Being men of experience, both Axel and Jean are careful in their relations with the women. They warn them about playing with love and with fire.<sup>95</sup> Before the so-called seduction, Axel refuses confidences of the Baron and of Maria.<sup>96</sup> After the seduction, Jean attempts to make Julie keep her own counsel but fails in his efforts.<sup>97</sup> The two men are equally shy about saying "du" to the women. Axel does not say "du" to Maria because he wishes to keep her on an elevated plane.<sup>98</sup> Jean, however, cannot say "du" to Julie because he has a strong feeling of class distinction, despite the fact that the scene occurs after the seduction and that Julie says, "Mellan oss finns inga skrankor mer!—Säg du!"<sup>99</sup>

<sup>88</sup> XXIII, p. 120.      <sup>87</sup> XXVI, pp. 257-263.

<sup>88</sup> XXVI, p. 97; XXIII, pp. 126, 135.

<sup>89</sup> XXVI, pp. 119, 157, 172.

<sup>90</sup> XXIII, pp. 147-148. Strindberg might have explained that this was a holiday cigar or that Jean had stolen one from the Count. Of course, Strindberg wanted to make Jean appear brutal and indifferent at this time, but I am sure that he was also thinking in terms of Axel.

<sup>91</sup> XXVI, p. 172; XXIII, p. 150.

<sup>92</sup> XXVI, p. 54.

<sup>93</sup> XXVI, p. 168.

<sup>94</sup> XXIII, p. 135.

<sup>95</sup> XXVI, p. 178; XXIII, pp. 134-135.

<sup>96</sup> XXVI, pp. 66, 73, 79.

<sup>97</sup> XXIII, p. 157.

<sup>98</sup> XXVI, p. 170.

<sup>99</sup> XXIII, p. 146.

The men are so much attracted to the women that they are much aroused at the slightest physical contact with them. When Maria takes Axel's arm and walks with him, brushing against him at times, Axel is so disturbed that he shivers. Maria comments, "Hur är det fatt? Ni darrar?"<sup>100</sup> And when Julie, in removing the mote, puts her hands on Jean, he shivers. Julie says, "Jag tror han darrar, stora, starka karlen!"<sup>101</sup> In both cases, Strindberg makes it clear that the woman is quite conscious of what she is doing and of the emotional disturbance of the man.

Axel and Jean are quite remarkable for their Josephian resistance to the temptations of the women. We have seen how frequently Maria and Julie make advances to the men. Just as frequently—indeed, even up to the very threshold of seduction—the men resist the women. Axel repeatedly tries to break off acquaintance with the Baron and Maria, he treats her cruelly at times, he tries to run away to Paris, he turns his back on her, and he writes letters to her and the Baron suggesting that their friendship be brought to an end. Jean, as a servant, one attending the Count, lives in very close contact with Julie. But he too resists and admonishes and protests. Just a few minutes before the seduction, he speaks to her strongly:

För en gång; för er egen skull! Jag ber er! Natten är framskriden, sömnen gör drucken, och huvud blir hett! Gå och lägg er! För övrigt—om jag inte hör orätt—kommer folket hitåt för att söka mig! Och finner man oss här, är ni för-lorad!

The other servants are heard singing. It is clear that they are coming, but still Julie does not move. It is Jean who is resisting her advances and the temptations of *Midsummer's Night*.<sup>102</sup>

The resisting is also matched by a certain amount of playing up to the ladies. Jean kisses Julie's shoe, in part by compulsion and in part by virtue of his own boldness with the ladies.<sup>103</sup> Axel, however, is worshipful and quite beside himself as he kisses those smallest shoes in the world.<sup>104</sup> Again, both men do a certain amount of lying about love. As an excuse for seeing more of Maria, a married woman, Axel pretends he is in love with an

<sup>100</sup> XXVI, p. 103.

<sup>101</sup> XXIII, p. 134.

<sup>102</sup> XXIII, p. 142.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

<sup>104</sup> XXVI, p. 174.

absent friend of Maria's and that he has been courting her.<sup>106</sup> Jean tells an extravagant tale about having been in love with Julie when she was a girl.<sup>106</sup> There are also love and suicide associated with the men. Axel makes an actual attempt to kill himself, because of the hopelessness of his love for Maria,<sup>107</sup> whereas Jean spins his suicidal attempt out of whole cloth for the sake of leading Julie on and winning her sympathy.<sup>108</sup> In their love-making the two men make use of flowers. Axel has roses in the room, and he puts one in Maria's hair.<sup>109</sup> Jean holds a lilac blossom under Julie's nose.<sup>110</sup>

There is also something brutal and cold-blooded about Axel and Jean.<sup>111</sup> Each one finally admits that he has had a part to play as seducer.<sup>112</sup> Indeed, each one is rather proud of what he has done. Axel, especially, cries out in glee, "Folkets son har erövrat det vita skinnet, den ofrälse har vunnit en adelsdams kärlek, svinaherden har blandat sitt blod med prinsessans."<sup>113</sup> Although the men say that they feel sad about seeing a person in high position fall,<sup>114</sup> we have good reason to doubt the genuineness of the utterance, for the two men are rather hard in their dealings with the women after the seduction. Note, for example, the following passages:

Hon kommer upp till mig, hänger sig kring min hals och säger:

"Nu är jag helt din, tag mig!"

Som vi aldrig talat om äktenskap, vet jag inte riktigt vad hon menar med det.<sup>115</sup>

Hon sitter böjd över sitt arbete och ser mig inte i ögonen, som om hon ruvade över några mörka planer.

Plötsligt, utan att lyfta huvudet, säger hon till mig med sträv stämma:

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68, 70-71, 125, 132, 134, 171.

<sup>106</sup> XXIII, pp. 136-137.

<sup>107</sup> XXVI, pp. 123-127.

<sup>108</sup> XXIII, pp. 136-139, 151-152.

<sup>109</sup> XXVI, p. 174.

<sup>110</sup> XXIII, p. 138. In the *Foreword* Strindberg refers to the aphrodisiacal qualities of the flowers (p. 102).

<sup>111</sup> XXVI, pp. 157, 181, 191, 204, 243; XXIII, pp. 147-148, 151, 153, 162.

<sup>112</sup> XXVI, p. 183; XXIII, pp. 153-154.

<sup>113</sup> XXVI, pp. 183-184; see also XXIII, p. 154.

<sup>114</sup> XXVI, pp. 242-243; XXIII, p. 154.

<sup>115</sup> XXVI, p. 191.



"Axel, vet du vad en kvinna i de förhållanden vi leva i kan fordra av en man?"

Som träffad av blixten, men troende mig inte ha hört rätt, svarar jag tvekan-  
kande:

"Nej . . . vad menar du?"

"Vad fordrar en älskarinna av sin älskare?"

"Kärlek."

"Och sen?"

"Pengar!"<sup>116</sup>

The latter scene reappears in *Fröken Julie* in its most theatrical form.

Fröken. Vet ni vad en man är skyldig en kvinna som han skämt?

Jean. (tar opp portemonnän och kastar ett silvermynt på bordet). Var så god! Jag vill inte vara skyldig något!<sup>117</sup>

The men are also capable of calling the women hard names: Axel stumbles along the street mumbling, "Sköka! Sköka! . . . Vi ha kommit till förnedringens sista stadium. Räkning på fröjderna! Yrket erkänt utan blygsel!"<sup>118</sup> Later, after his marriage to Maria, we find this: "'L. . .,' slungade jag henne oemotståndligt i ansiktet."<sup>119</sup> And still later, he repeats, "'L. . .!'"<sup>120</sup> Jean responds to Julie in much the same way. When Julie cries out in anger at him "Nej, dräng är dräng . . ." Jean responds sharply, "Och hora är hora!"<sup>121</sup> And when Julie commands him, "Lakej, domestik, stig upp när jag talar!" Jean yells back, "Domestik-frilla, lakej-slinka, håll mun och gå ut härifrån. . . ." <sup>122</sup> The language may be different, but in Jean we hear the voice of Axel.

Finally we may point to a similarity in regard to the proposed travel after the seduction. In *En dæres försvarstal* the Baron, now separated from Maria but not yet divorced, and Axel have agreed to be at the station to see her off to Copenhagen. The Baron, however, fails to appear. Maria tells Axel to accompany her to Copenhagen or else she herself will not go. Axel replies, "Nej, var då förståndig. . . . Om jag följer med, är det ju som en enlevering. Hela Stockholm vet det i morgon dag."<sup>123</sup> He agrees to ride along as far as Katrineholm, and does.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240.

<sup>117</sup> XXIII, p. 162.

<sup>118</sup> XXVI, p. 240.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 296.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 339.

<sup>121</sup> XXIII, p. 151.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153.

<sup>123</sup> XXVI, p. 202.

And then, "Dagen efter vår avresa vet hela huvudstaden att friherrinnan X. blivit enleverad av en tjänsteman vid Kungliga Biblioteket."<sup>124</sup> Julie says to Jean, "Jag skall resa, om ni följer med!" and Jean replies, "Är ni rasande, människa? Fröken Julie skulle rymma med sin betjänt! Det stode i tidningarna i övermorgon. . . ."<sup>125</sup> And neither Julie nor Jean leaves the estate.

Despite the differences between Axel and Jean, there can be no doubt but that the latter is based on the former. Or we may say, as we said of the women, that both were cast from the same master mould. Axel and Jean are, indeed, literary relatives having the same general experiences and reacting in the same general way.

#### *Situation and Plot*

The fundamental conflict is much the same in *En dâres försvarstal* and *Fröken Julie*. In both works we have the familiar battle of the sexes qualified socially by class. Maria and Julie are representatives of the upper stratum; Axel and Jean, of the lower. In both works there is also a sex triangle. In *En dâres försvarstal* Maria has a husband; in *Fröken Julie*, Jean has a mistress.

The motivating forces of the novel and the drama are comparable. For example, the basic instincts of the mothers of Maria and Julie are recognized as forces operative on the daughters.<sup>126</sup> Julie is emotionally upset by a broken engagement and also by catamenia;<sup>127</sup> Maria is treated for "en böld i livmodern,"<sup>128</sup> has unsatisfied desires,<sup>129</sup> and is possibly a nymphomaniac.<sup>130</sup> Maria's father gave her a bad inheritance,<sup>131</sup> and Julie's father is also blamed for the daughter's upbringing.<sup>132</sup> Strindberg makes much of the fact that he has allowed chance to play a strong part in the motivation of Julie's sad fate.<sup>133</sup> He has also employed chance in *En dâres försvarstal*, as we observe in

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209. <sup>125</sup> XXIII, p. 165.

<sup>126</sup> XXVI, pp. 95, 203, 364; XXIII, pp. 102, 157-159.

<sup>127</sup> XXIII, pp. 102, 117-118, 124.

<sup>128</sup> XXVI, p. 186. <sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 180.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156. <sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>132</sup> XXIII, pp. 102, 184 (but see pp. 157-159).

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

Axel's reference to "det tillfälliga uppträdandet av en finska som drev mig till dig. . . ." <sup>134</sup> Flowers have their part as aphrodisiacs. <sup>135</sup> Both Maria and Julie are also victims of suggestion, in part by virtue of their weak brains and degenerate stocks. <sup>136</sup>

In various places in *En dâres försvärstal* Strindberg makes use of suggestion and similar manifestations of supersensory forces, to forward the action. There is always a hint of doubt about the validity of the force, but there is little question but that Strindberg intended it to be functional. Note, for example, the following passage: "Då jag vaknade, kunde jag inte minnas någon dröm men var besatt av en fix, liksom under sömnen suggererad idé: antingen måste jag återse friherrinnan eller bleve jag galen." <sup>137</sup> Shortly after, Axel says to the captain of the ship, "Låt mig gå av strax . . . eller blir jag galen." <sup>138</sup>

There also are magnetic streams working from one creature to another. "Som aftonen var varm, bar hon sin mantilj i handen, och från armen, vars mjuka konturer kändes genom sidet, utgick vid beröringen en magnetisk ström. . . ." <sup>139</sup> This is, of course, Maria's effect on Axel through actual contact and is a matter of erotic excitement. Maria, the Baron, and Axel also spend part of an evening carrying on "magnetiska experiment," something which seems to consist of stroking the forehead. <sup>140</sup> But this magnetic force is not merely a matter of erotic contact. When Axel has made his suicide attempt and thinks he will die of pneumonia, he calls the preacher in to have him say a few words. "Hans rösts jämna sorl, ljuset från hans ögon, värmen från hans kropp utövade en magnetisk verkan på mig." <sup>141</sup> Indeed, when Maria is ill and downcast, Axel talks to her and succeeds in soothing her nerves. <sup>142</sup>

It is rather significant that Strindberg employs suggestion

<sup>134</sup> XXVI, p. 203.

<sup>135</sup> XXVI, p. 174; XXIII, pp. 102, 138. Strindberg had certainly read *La faute de l'abbé Mouret* and perhaps *La curée* and was doubtless not unmindful of Zola's use of flowers.

<sup>136</sup> XXVI, p. 244; XXIII, pp. 102, 104-105, 157-159.

<sup>137</sup> XXVI, pp. 116-117.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118. <sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 152. <sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126. <sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.

and supersensory manifestations in his writings of this period: *Fadren*, *En dâres försvarstal*, *Fröken Julie*, *Creditörerna*.<sup>143</sup> Thus we find Julie asking Jean, "... har ni aldrig varit på teatern och sett magnetisören?" And she asks Jean to play the part of the hypnotist so that she may have the strength to commit suicide. Jean does as he is told, and eventually she walks off the stage so firmly that we can only infer she will use the razor to end her own life.<sup>144</sup> But earlier in the drama, Julie shows another kind of response to suggestion. In her bewilderment over her plight she talks excitedly to Kristin about going to Switzerland or the Italian lake country, and in doing so she repeats what Jean has already set forth.<sup>145</sup>

The situations in *En dâres försvarstal* and *Fröken Julie* are almost identical. Thus, it is understandable that the forces likewise should be the same.<sup>146</sup>

Apropos of plot, there is first of all the fundamental difference between the novel and the drama to be considered. *Fröken Julie*, a short, concentrated drama, opens in the midst of the action; hence exposition that may be needed must be provided with the development, especially by means of retrospection. *En dâres försvarstal*, as a novel, provides at least a modicum of exposition in the first ten pages preceding Axel's meeting with Maria. Again, as regards the development, we have in *Fröken Julie* a relentless, rapid movement toward the consummation of sex relations; and all this is done in the first third of the drama. In the novel, on the other hand, the development toward the seduction is far more gradual, and it occupies the major portion of Part One. The resolution of the situation in *Fröken Julie* requires almost two-thirds of the drama, whereas in *En dâres*

<sup>143</sup> Apropos of Strindberg's use of suggestion, Jolivet points to another literary source. "Déjà, dans l'article sur le *meurtre psychique*, écrit en 1887, Strindberg parle en détail de l'hypnotisme et de la suggestion. Il cite à ce propos une nouvelle d'Erckmann-Chatrian: *L'Oeil invisible ou l'Auberge des trois pendus*, qui l'avait particulièrement frappé. . . ." *Op. cit.*, p. 147.

<sup>144</sup> XXIII, pp. 186-187.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 177-179.

<sup>146</sup> Note Axel's list of forces (XXVI, p. 203) and compare this with the list in Strindberg's *Foreword to Fröken Julie* (XXIII, p. 102).

*försvarstal* about one-seventh of the novel is all that is necessary to dispose of the immediate conflict. Again, in the drama the resolution is fixed in the catastrophe, the suicide of Julie; in the novel, it is fixed in Maria's flight to Copenhagen.

In general, despite differences already pointed out, the plot of *Fröken Julie* is derived from Part One of *En dâres försvarstal*.

#### *Miscellaneous Items*

While much of *En dâres försvarstal* is carried over into *Fröken Julie* with but little change, some matters have been altered. We observed that Fröken Julie and Maria were of the same age: twenty-five. As regards the men, it is Jean and the Baron who are of the same age: thirty. Again, the competition between the classes is carried on in *En dâres försvarstal* between Axel and Gustav as well as between Axel and Maria. In a scene involving the two men, we find Gustav looming up as the nobleman; then Axel attempts to re-establish the equilibrium between the two by setting forth his learning.

Sabeln och pennan! Adelsmannen på nedgång, den ofrälse i uppåtstigande! Kanske anade kvinnan i sin omedvetna klarsyn framtiden, när hon senare valde fadren för sina blivande barn bland intelligensens adel.<sup>147</sup>

We find this kind of material repeated in the *Foreword* to *Fröken Julie*. "Men fröken Julie är även en rest från den gamla krigaradeln, som nu går undan för den nya nerv- eller stora-hjärnadeln. . . ." <sup>148</sup> In fact, Julie even dreams repeatedly about falling, and she longs to come down from the heights.<sup>149</sup> Jean is the new type of nobleman and naturally he dreams about climbing.<sup>150</sup>

Although both Maria and Julie make such open advances toward the men that they are relatively easy conquests, it is Julie and Baroness X, Maria's Finnish friend, that are so qualified. While it is true that Axel, in admitting that he ravished Maria, adds the words "om det nu kan kallas att våldta,"<sup>151</sup> he speaks of the Finnish friend in terms of easy conquest somewhat as Jean replies to Julie. Axel says, "Hon betraktade mig med en fånig

<sup>147</sup> XXVI, p. 64.

<sup>148</sup> XXIII, p. 105.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 132-133.

<sup>151</sup> XXVI, p. 183.

min, och på mitt hedersord, hennes dygd blev den gången skonad blott tack vare hennes utomordentliga fulhet och min avsmak för lätta erövringar."<sup>152</sup> In the drama, we find Jean explaining that he admits his part in the seduction, but he also declares that he never would have dared to look upon Julie without her invitation. He confesses he is still surprised, and Julie adds that he is also proud. To this Jean replies, "Varför inte? Ehuru jag må bekänna att segern var mig för lätt för att egentligen kunna ge något rus."<sup>153</sup>

There is also a manipulation of the scene in which Gustav's uncle feels of Maria's arm. The uncle massages the arm right up to the shoulder. Then he says, "Du är inte så mager, som du ser ut, min unge," as he feels the soft flesh through the cloth.<sup>154</sup> Maria is erotically aroused. She is pleased by the uncle's compliment and bares her arm, despite the fact that Axel is present. Then Axel, in lighting a cigaret, drops a match between coat and vest. Maria rushes to him to put out the fire with her hands. There is the physical contact of Maria's hands with Axel's chest; and it is Axel who moves away from her. In *Fröken Julie*, on the other hand, the circumstances are somewhat different. Jean gets a mote in the eye. Julie puts her hands to his head as she tries to remove the mote. Then she feels of Jean's arm and says "Med sådana armar!" Jean is erotically aroused and openly protests as well as warns Julie.<sup>155</sup>

Rather startling is Strindberg's juggling of the name Diana in the two works. In the novel, Axel, worshipping Maria, is endeavoring to decide what kind of goddess she is like. Not Venus, not Juno, not Minerva! Maria is like Diana, the chaste goddess. "Å! Diana! Ja, det var hon, visst var det hon!"<sup>156</sup> In the drama Diana is the name of Julie's dog, a bitch. The dog, moreover, has gone astray by running after the pug belonging to a servant.<sup>157</sup> This is, manifestly, a symbol of the fall of the nobility and the ravishment of the noble woman by a male of the lower classes. The Diana reference, however, is not merely a foreshadowing of Julie's fall; it is, I am convinced, also a vicious transformation of

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

<sup>154</sup> XXVI, pp. 100-101.

<sup>156</sup> XXVI, pp. 81-82.

<sup>153</sup> XXIII, p. 154.

<sup>155</sup> XXIII, pp. 133-134.

<sup>157</sup> XXIII, p. 120.

the Diana figure of *En dâres försvarstal*. Maria, the chaste goddess, the Diana worshipped by Axel, has been changed by Strindberg-Circe into a rutting bitch.<sup>158</sup>

The matter of responsibility, that which arises in the post-seduction period, is presented in *En dâres försvarstal*, in the *Foreword* to *Fröken Julie*, and in the drama itself. At a meeting of Maria, Gustav, and Axel, the question "Vem bär skulden?" is asked. The answer given is "Ingen, ödet, en rad små händelser och skilda bevekelsegrunder. . . ."<sup>159</sup> Later, when Axel and Maria are together, Axel raises the issue again. "Vem har skulden? Du, jag, han, hon, den överhängande ruinen, din passion för teatern, din livmoderböld, arvet efter din tre gånger skilda farfar, din mors motvilja att föda barn . . ." etc., etc.<sup>160</sup> In the *Foreword* to *Fröken Julie* Strindberg says, "Skulden har naturalisten utstrukt med Gud. . . ."<sup>161</sup> And just a short time before she commits suicide, Julie also raises the question of guilt:

. . . Vems är skulden till vad som skett! Min fars, min mors, mitt eget! Mitt eget? Jag har ju intet eget? Jag har inte en tanke som jag inte fått av min far, inte en passion som jag inte fått av min mor. . . . Hur kan det vara mitt eget fel? Skjuta skulden på Jesus, som Kristin gjorde—nej, det är jag för stolt till och för klok. . . . Vems är felet?—Vad rör det oss vems felet är! Det är ändå jag som får bära skulden, bära följderna. . . .<sup>162</sup>

There is no need to go on with the comparison, although I have not presented all the instances which might be cited as evidence of the dependence of the drama on the novel. It should now be clear that Strindberg has carried over some of the material of *En dâres försvarstal* directly into *Fröken Julie*, and that he has transformed some. We cannot call *Fröken Julie* a dramatization of *En dâres försvarstal*; but we can say that it has been derived from it, for the evidence is compelling.

<sup>158</sup> We are also keeping in mind that in *Mot betalning* Strindberg employed a thoroughbred mare—Helène's—which succumbed to the blandishments of the miller's black stallion (XIV, p. 307). Again, Strindberg's well-known hatred of dogs is thus not only reflected in Axel and Jean but is also the agent for further denigration of woman.

<sup>159</sup> XXVI, pp. 199–200.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>161</sup> XXIII, p. 105.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184.

*Conclusion*

If Strindberg took the subject matter of *Fröken Julie* from life, as he says in the *Foreword*, we can only conclude that it is from that distorted picture of his own life, *En dåres försvarstal*. And we need not cavil about the possibility of the subject's being satisfactory to Zola's naturalism. Note, for example, Lamm's opening paragraph in his last book on Strindberg:

Vid tjugu år börjar Strindberg sitt författarskap. Från denna stund flyta liv och dikt samman för honom. Hans upplevelser bilda råmaterialet för hans verk, och verken bli de avgörande händelserna i hans biografi. Detta sammanhang stod så klart för honom själv, att han under olika skeden av sitt liv klagade över att icke kunna skönja gränsen mellan vad han upplevat och vad han diktat.<sup>163</sup>

Those who say that the subject matter of *Fröken Julie* fulfils Zola's requirements should present suitable evidence in support of their contention. From my investigations of Zola and Strindberg I can come to but one conclusion: Superficially the subject of *Fröken Julie* seems to be in harmony with Zola's specifications; actually, however, it is so dependent on a literary source or on Strindberg's confused report of his own life that it is wholly unsatisfactory. In other words, I find no evidence in support of the view that the subject of *Fröken Julie* was derived from an objective study of life.

<sup>163</sup> *August Strindberg*, Vol. I, p. 3.



## FULLT MED, MEANING 'MANY, MUCH,' AND RELATED EXPRESSIONS IN SWEDISH

AXEL LOUIS ELMQUIST  
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GUSTAV CEDERSCHIÖLD says in *Om svenskan som skriftspråk*:<sup>1</sup>

Till sådana . . . från skriftspråket (eller åtminstone från normalprosan) bannlysta uttryck kunna vi hänföra . . . prepositionen *med*(*d*) i sådan förbindelse som "De' va' fullt (eller: *en hel höp*?) *me' bönder på torge(t)*". . .

Since the grammars fail to mention the type *fullt med*<sup>2</sup> and since Olof Östergren, in his *Nusvensk ordbok*,<sup>3</sup> likewise citing only examples written with language forms of the spontaneous styles, characterizes it as "Ngt vard." (i.e., "Något vardagligt"), one might, in view of Cederschiöld's hesitating utterance "från skriftspråket (åtminstone från normalprosan) bannlysta uttryck," think that this usage is one that is altogether restricted to the natural and lax styles.

In any event, expressions of this kind are freely employed by writers of belletristic prose, and they occur in the narrative text as well as in the conversational passages.

The equivalents in English are 'many, much, a lot of, very many, very much, plenty of, enough, few, little.' Instead of *med*, the prepositions *av* and *om* are employed in some instances.

Such expressions are:

**Fullt med.** *Däruppe lågo<sup>4</sup> fullt med nya palatslika byggnader . . . I bokarna hängde visserligen fullt med röda höstlöv, men. . .*

<sup>1</sup> 5 ed., Lund, 1924, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> This type is not included in the present article.

<sup>3</sup> Except that Natanael Beckman, *Svensk språklära*<sup>8</sup> (Stockholm, 1935), §172, 2, says: "Några måttsadverb antaga ett partitivt prepositionsuttryck. Ex. *Har han fått nog med pengar? Det här ha vi fått nog av.*"

An interesting use of the preposition *med* is seen in the passage: *Var det inte eldsvåda här om da'n hos en rik köpman! Jo; och kom det inte springandes från alla håll med fattiga stackare; och . . .* (August Strindberg, *Lycko-Pers resa*, in *Samlade dramatiska arbeten*, Första serien: Romantiska dramer, I [Stockholm, 1903], p. 276).

<sup>4</sup> Stockholm, 1915-, under *med*.

<sup>5</sup> Note that the verb is here in the plural.

Han hade fullt med sten i ytterrocksfickorna. Jag tycker man ser fullt med överraskande motiv här. På himlen var det fullt med små vita moln. Note also **fullt upp med**. På isen fanns<sup>6</sup> alltid fullt upp med pojkar. . . . Often **fullt av** is used. . . . och fullt av åskådare stodo<sup>7</sup> ulefter husväggarna. När Fabrice sluttigen red bort, hade han så fullt av dyrbarheter under rocken, att. . . . Nu kom det fullt av folk i huset som skulle äta opp maten.

**Mycket med**. Åhja, men jag har sett folk, som behörde bra mycket med olyckor för att bli hyggliga. And the passage: Detta land var vackert också när det började höstna till. Så mycket med kraft i det.

**Så pass med**. Om han bara hade så pass med klokhet i sejl<sup>8</sup>

**Tillräckligt med**. Magnus har tillräckligt med bekymmer ändå. I aluminiumpannan hade det samlats tillräckligt med regnvatten, för att. . . . Det fanns ej tillräckligt med folk och fordon för att. . . . In the following sentence **tillräckligt av** is used owing to the preceding **med**: . . . och hon hade redan kunnat förtjäna så mycket, att hon hade skaffat sig ett trevligt hem med tillräckligt av möbler och husgeråd.

**Rikligt med**. Men han . . . tog rikligt med kollegier. . . . Det var rektangelformigt, icke särdeles stort, men ett högt fönster utåt gatan gav det rikligt med dagsljus. And in the form **rikligen**: Ja, Ers Majestät, ty banvakterna hava fått rikligen med brännevin. . . .

**Duktigt med**. Han . . . högg upp duktigt med långved på ved-kasten. . . .

**Ordentligt med**. Det tog ett par timmar innan han skaffat ordentligt med ved. . . .

**Lagom med**. Ger ut lagom med ankarlina och gör fast.<sup>9</sup> Lagom med guds ord . . . lagom sprit och ett snörliv, dessa innefatta framåtskridandets triumf!

**Nog med**. Men det gamla skolhuset hade krävt nog med offer ändå. Nu tänker hon: Om det finns nog med mat . . . så behöver

<sup>6</sup> Here the expletive *det* has been omitted.

<sup>7</sup> Note that the verb is here in the plural.

<sup>8</sup> Cited by Östergren, *loc. cit.*, where we also find, besides Cederachiöld's example, the sentence *För akta dej, va me spö man skulle få, om. . . .*

<sup>9</sup> Cited by Östergren, *op. cit.*, under *lagom*.

... Men nu må det vara nog med exempel på samtalsspråkets mångskiftande kraftord. . . .

**Gott med.** Men han sålde framför allt nya, elektriska strykjärn eftersom man nu höll på att sätta gott med elektricitet i hela landskapet. But we usually find **gott om**. Han visste, att det fanns gott om vargar i trakten. . . . Det var också gott om folk ute. . . . Also the comparative of *gott*, which is likewise the comparative of *bra*, is employed, **bättre om**. . . . att det var bättre om utrymme härute. . . .

**Bra med.** Och så skulle man lämna henne bra med dricks. En eller ett par kronor.

**Packat av.** I donna Elisabets bod var det packat av människor. . . .

**Tjockt med.** Det var så grönt i vägkantarna och så tjockt med löv på alla träd.

**Tätt med.** Och du ser väl, att på ett håll är det sumpigt och där sticker det upp så tätt med albuskar, att. . . .

**Grovt med.** Här for en karl fram och tjänste grovt må pengar må en maskin som upphävde tyngdlagen.

**Enormt med.** Julfirandet ger enormt med arbete. Lars rökte enormt med cigaretter.

**Obarmhärtigt med.** Nog vet jag, att jag fått allt mer och mer obarmhärtigt med stryk, ju längre jag levat.<sup>10</sup>

**Omänskligt med.** Ja, det fanns rent omänskligt med fisk i Lyngtjärn.<sup>11</sup>

**Okristligt med.** Då kostar okristligt må pengar.<sup>12</sup>

**Rysligt med.** Och dom fick rysligt med barn; det riktigt skvatt i backstugorna av ungar. . . .<sup>13</sup>

**Fasligt med.** Jag har förstört fasligt med pengar!

**Omåttligt med.** Vål har jag hört sägas, att de behöver omåttligt med pengar för sin resa. . . .

**Oändligt med.** Det kom så oändligt med hinder fram. . . .

**Otroligt med.** Och otroligt med gagn ha de gjort. . . .

**Oerhört med.** Det var kallt och oerhört med snö. Vi hade haft oerhört med arbete.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, under *obarmhärtig*.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, under *omänsklig*.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, under *okristlig*.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, under *ryslig*.

**Litet med.** *När det var litet med folk var han ledsen.* . . . Similarly in the comparative, **mindre med.** *Han hörde strax efteråt att de kommit i gång, vilket märktes på att man under en stund sålde mindre med biljetter.* . . .

**Obetydligt med.** *Den korta dagen tillät endast obetydligt med arbete.*

**Dåligt med.** *Det är dåligt med nyheter(na) i dag.*<sup>14</sup>

**Ont om.** . . . *det var förfärligt ont om torra pinnar. Nej, men jag har haft så ont om tid, sade han.* . . .

This list, chiefly compiled from notations made in the course of my reading of literature, is incomplete. The spontaneous styles, moreover, contain numerous other such expressions, of which, undoubtedly, not all have found their way into print.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, under *dålig*.

